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**CONTENTS**

	<u>Page</u>
What's Ahead	ii
Political Notes	1498
Committee Roundup	1500
Around The Capitol	1501
Pressures On Congress	1502
Presidential Report	1503
Week In Congress	iv

## **North-South Voting**

***Democratic Party Split***

***On 27% of Roll Calls***

***Page 1491***

●  
**1959 Lobby Activities**

***Page 1502***

●  
**Rockefeller and Nixon**

***Page 1498***

●  
**Langer Successor Named**

***Page 1499***

●  
**Latin America Policy**

***Page 1500***

## **College-Aid Tax Plans**

***Page 1497***

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*The Authoritative Reference on Congress*

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*Dates are listed as released by sources and are sometimes subject to change.*

### Committee Hearings

- Nov. 23-Dec. 8 -- WATER RESOURCES AND NEEDS, Senate Select National Water Resources. Field hearings: Salt Lake City -- Nov. 23; Alexandria, La. -- Nov. 30; Columbia, S.C. -- Dec. 2; Jacksonville -- Dec. 3; Augusta, Maine -- Dec. 7; Boston -- Dec. 8.
- Nov. 23-Dec. 18 -- INCOME TAX SYSTEM, House Ways and Means.
- Nov. 30 -- MANPOWER PROBLEMS IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, House Post Office and Civil Service, Manpower Utilization Subc.
- Nov. 30-Dec. 1 -- GROWERS AND MIGRATORY LABOR, Senate Labor and Public Welfare, Migratory Labor Subc. Field hearings in Trenton, N.J. -- Nov. 30; field trip to Rosenhayn, Deerfield, Seabrook-Gelston Village Camp on Route 77, Bridgeton, Shiloh, Cedarville, and Fairton, N.J. -- Nov. 30-Dec. 1.
- Nov. 30-Dec. 18 -- UNEMPLOYMENT STUDY, Senate Unemployment Problems. Field hearings: Kentucky -- Nov. 30; Indiana -- Dec. 1; La Porte, Ind. -- Dec. 2-4; Rock Springs -- Dec. 14; Schenectady -- Dec. 18.
- Dec. 1-11 -- PROBLEMS OF THE AGED AND AGING, Senate Labor and Public Welfare, Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged and Aging. Field hearings: Miami -- Dec. 1-2; Detroit -- Dec. 10-11.
- Dec. 7 -- DRUG INDUSTRY MONOPOLY, Senate Judiciary, Antitrust and Monopoly Subc.
- Dec. 9 -- RADIO AND TELEVISION SHOWS, House Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Legislative Oversight Subc.
- Dec. 9-11 -- DISTRIBUTION PRACTICES IN THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY, House Small Business, Subc. No. 5.
- Dec. 9, 14 -- SEASHORE RECREATION AREAS, Senate Interior and Insular Affairs. Field hearings Eastham, Mass. -- Dec. 9; Corpus Christie, Texas -- Dec. 14.
- Dec. 15-16 -- TELEVISION SERVICE TO SMALLER COMMUNITIES, Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Communications Subc.
- Nov. 29-Dec. 4 -- INVESTMENT BANKERS ASSN. OF AMERICA, annual convention, Bal Harbour, Fla.
- Dec. 1-2 -- NUCLEAR CONFERENCE ON RADIOISOTOPES, sponsored by AEC, Detroit.
- Dec. 3-22 -- PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S FOREIGN TRIP. Itinerary: Dec. 4 -- Rome; Dec. 6 -- Vatican; Dec. 6 -- Ankara; Dec. 7-8 -- Karachi; Dec. 9 -- Kabul; Dec. 9-13 -- New Delhi; Dec. 14 -- Teheran; Dec. 14 -- Athens; Dec. 19-21 -- Paris; Dec. 21-22 -- Madrid; Dec. 22 -- Rabat; Dec. 22 -- Washington.
- Dec. 5 -- LOUISIANA DEMOCRATIC GUBERNATORIAL PRIMARY.
- Dec. 7 -- RADIO AND TELEVISION FRAUD, Federal Communications Commission hearings.
- Dec. 7-10 -- VEGETABLE GROWERS ASSN. OF AMERICA, annual convention, Atlantic City.
- Dec. 12-16 -- NATIONAL FOOD BROKERS ASSN., 56th annual convention, Chicago.
- Dec. 13-17 -- AMERICAN FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, annual meeting, Chicago.
- Dec. 15 -- COTTON AND PEANUT GROWER REFERENCE, 1960 crops, conducted by Agriculture Dept.
- Dec. 15 -- NATO FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING, Paris. Secretary of State Herter will leave Dec. 12 to attend.
- Dec. 15 -- SPECIAL ELECTION, Iowa Fourth Congressional district.
- Dec. 19-20 -- WESTERN COUNCIL MEETING, Paris.
- Jan. 5-8 -- NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FARM COOPERATIVES, annual meeting, Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta.
- Jan. 6 -- 1960 CONGRESS RECONVENES.
- Jan. 18-20 -- NATIONAL CANNERS ASSN., annual convention, Miami Beach.
- Jan. 23 -- DEMOCRATS 1960 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF DINNER, Washington.
- Jan. 25-27 -- VOTING, SCHOOLS AND HOUSING DISCRIMINATION, Civil Rights Commission. Field hearings, Los Angeles and San Francisco.
- Jan. 27 -- REPUBLICAN FUND-RAISING DINNER, address by President Eisenhower, Pan Pacific Auditorium, Los Angeles. Fifty other dinners scheduled throughout the country.
- Jan. 28-29 -- PRIVATE TRUCK COUNCIL OF AMERICA INC., 21st annual convention, Roosevelt Hotel, New York City.
- Feb. 8 -- AFL-CIO, annual winter meeting, Miami Beach.
- March 1 -- COTTON, Tariff Commission hearings.
- April 5-14 -- COLOMBIAN PRESIDENT ALBERTO L. CAMARGO, state visit to the United States.

### Other Events

- Nov. 29-Dec. 2 -- AMERICAN MUNICIPAL CONGRESS, 36th annual conference, address by Sen. John F. Kennedy (D Mass.), Denver.

### CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY

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## EXTENT OF NORTH-SOUTH DEMOCRATIC SPLIT ANALYZED

How deep is the division within the Democratic party? On what issues do Northern and Southern Democrats disagree?

In an effort to answer those questions, Congressional Quarterly since 1957 has analyzed the roll-call votes on which Southern Democrats opposed the stand taken by Northern Democrats. This study, the third in the series, covers the 1959 session of Congress. (For 1957 and 1958 studies, see 1957 Almanac p. 813; 1958 Almanac p. 764)

### Number of Splits

The majority of voting Southern Democrats opposed the stand taken by the majority of voting Northern Democrats on 83, or 27 percent, of the 1959 session's 302 roll calls.

Northern and Southern Democrats split on 29 percent of the 1958 roll calls and 31 percent of the 1957 roll calls.

For this survey, Congressional Quarterly grouped 13 states as the South -- Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. The other 37 states were grouped as the North.

In 1959, the Southern states had 24 Democratic Senators and 111 Democratic Representatives; the Northern states had 41 Democratic Senators and 173 Democratic Representatives.

To determine the number of roll calls on which there were North-South splits in the Democratic party, CQ checked all 1959 roll calls to see when the majority of voting Southern Democrats opposed the stand taken by the majority of voting Northern Democrats. Roll calls on which either Northern or Southern Democrats divided evenly were not counted as "splits."

The results are shown in this table:

1959	Total Roll Calls	North-South Democratic Splits	Percentage of Splits
Both Chambers	302	83	27%
Senate	215	63	29
House	87	20	23

The roll calls on which the Democrats split, and the breakdown of votes on each, are listed on p. 1492.

The table below shows how the number and percentage of splits in both chambers in 1959 compare with 1958 and 1957:

Year	Total Roll Calls	North-South Democratic Splits	Percentage of Splits
1959	302	83	27%
1958	293	84	29
1957	207	64	31

Of the 83 roll calls in 1959 in which the North-South Democratic split occurred, the Southern majority was on the winning side 36 times -- 26 in the Senate and 10 in the House.

More important than the number of roll calls on which Northern and Southern Democrats differed are the issues that divided them. In 1959, as in the previous two years, splits showed differences between the two groups on many other issues than civil rights.

### Issues that Divide Democrats

Foreign aid figured in 17 of the 83 splits. The majority of Southern Democrats in the Senate voted for cuts in every phase of the military and economic aid program and against permitting economic aid to European Communist satellites. The majority of voting Southern Democrats in both the House and Senate opposed any authorization or appropriation of funds for foreign aid. (Senate roll calls 56, 105-8, 110, 114, 117-8, 210-12, 215; House roll calls 42, 53, 56, 86).

Farm supports and surplus disposal policies were the issue in 11 of the splits. The majority of Southern Democrats in both House and Senate opposed moves to limit the amount of price support loans to an individual; in the Senate, they also opposed a move to boost wheat price supports. Senate Southern Democrats opposed a series of moves to make the surplus disposal law a "food for peace" program and to set up a "food stamp" plan for distribution of food to needy Americans. (Senate RC 63-5, 189-92, 198-200; House RC 20).

Labor reform legislation provoked 10 splits, including the critical House vote on which Southern Democrats voted to substitute the "tough" Landrum-Griffin bill for the "moderate" committee-approved measure. In the Senate, the majority of Southern Democrats supported the McClellan "bill of rights" amendment; a move to turn "no man's land" cases over to the states; a move to tighten the ban on secondary boycotts and another to require secret ballot strike votes. (Senate RC 34, 36, 38-9, 43, 46, 49; House RC 58-60).

Housing was the issue in seven North-South splits. Senate Southern Democrats voted twice to reduce the public housing authorization and House Southern Democrats voted to eliminate public housing authorizations altogether. Southern Democratic Senators also opposed moves to boost urban renewal funds and to block an increase in the interest rate on GI housing loans. (Senate RC 8, 10, 11, 161-2; House RC 21-22).

Taxes figured in six of the roll-call differences. The majority of voting Southern Senators opposed a "sliding scale" reduction in the oil and gas depletion allowance, a move to deny certain "expense account" deductions and

## Northern vs. Southern Democrats - 2

an increase in Internal Revenue Service enforcement personnel funds. In the House, Southern Democrats voted against the 1-cent increase in the gas tax. (Senate RC 70, 96, 98, 101, 103; House RC 77.)

The Supreme Court -- a nomination to it and legislation provoked by its decisions -- was the source of six disagreements. Southern Democratic Senators voted, 7-17, against the nomination of Potter Stewart to the Court. In the House, the Southern Democrats supported a bill to prevent the Court from declaring that Federal legislation had preempted state legislation in the same field and the "Mallory Rule bill" to bar Federal courts from disqualifying confessions of suspects solely because of delay in their arraignment. (Senate RC 58; House RC 44, 46-7, 51-2).

An effort to remove the loyalty oath requirement for students seeking aid under the National Defense Education Act provoked four roll-call splits in the Senate. Southern Democrats voted to recommit (kill) the bill. (Senate RC 132-5).

The Senate filibuster rule fight brought four North-South splits. Southern Democrats opposed any change in the old rule that required the votes of two-thirds of all Senators to limit debate. (Senate RC 2-5).

Civil rights figured directly in only three of the roll-call disagreements. On all three, the majority of Southern Democrats in House and Senate opposed extension of the life of the Federal Civil Rights Commission. (Senate RC 213-4; House RC 87).

Depressed areas legislation caused two splits in the Senate. The majority of Southern Democrats voted first to substitute a smaller Administration program, and then voted against passage of the larger committee-endorsed program. (Senate RC 25, 28).

Hawaii statehood caused two splits, with the majority of Southern Democrats in both House and Senate voting

against admission of the 50th state. (Senate RC 21; House RC 6).

Unemployment compensation was the issue in two Senate votes. Southern Democrats voted against extending the emergency program passed in 1958 to mid-1960, rather than mid-1959. (Senate RC 29-30).

## Individual Stands

The chart on p. 1493 shows how often each individual Southern Democrat voted with and against the Southern position on the party-splitting issues.

Most 'Southern' Senators -- The Southern Democratic Senators who voted most frequently with the majority of Southerners on the 63 party-splitting issues in 1959 were: Strom Thurmond (S.C.), 61; John Stennis (Miss.) and A. Willis Robertson (Va.), 60; Harry Flood Byrd (Va.) and Herman E. Talmadge (Ga.), 58.

Least 'Southern' Senators -- The Southern Democratic Senators who voted most frequently against the majority of Southerners on the 63 party-splitting issues in 1959 were: Ralph W. Yarborough (Texas), 47; A.S. Mike Monroney (Okla.), 46; Albert Gore (Tenn.) and Estes Kefauver (Tenn.), 45; and Lyndon B. Johnson (Texas), 37.

Most 'Southern' Representatives -- Seven Southern Democratic Representatives voted with the majority of Southerners on all 20 party-splitting issues in 1959: W.F. Norrell (Ark.), John J. Flynt Jr. (Ga.), Thomas G. Abernethy, Jamie L. Whitten and John Bell Williams, all of Mississippi, Alton Lennon (N.C.) and Watkins M. Abbitt (Va.).

Least 'Southern' Representatives -- The Southern Democratic Representatives who voted most frequently against the majority of Southerners on the 20 party-splitting issues in 1959 were: Frank W. Burke (Ky.) and Carl D. Perkins (Ky.), 14; Ed Edmondson (Okla.), Toby Morris (Okla.) and Jack B. Brooks (Texas), 11.

## 83 Roll Calls on Which Democratic Party Split

Following is a list of 83 Senate and House roll calls in 1959 on which the majority of voting Southern Democrats opposed the stand taken by the majority of voting Northern Democrats.

In this breakdown, Southern Democrats are Members from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia; Northern Democrats come from the other 37 states.

The roll calls are listed in their chronological order by Congressional Quarterly roll call (RC) number.

An asterisk (\*) before the roll call number indicates the roll call was one on which the majority of voting Southern Democrats agreed with the stand of the majority of voting Republicans.

For each roll call, the total vote is broken down into three groups: Southern Democrats (SD), Northern Democrats (ND) and Republicans (R).

### Senate Roll Calls (63)

\*RC 2. Senate rules. Johnson motion to table Anderson motion to consider adoption of rules for the Senate of the 86th Congress. The Anderson motion also provided for adoption of all 85th Congress rules except Rule 22 (on cloture) and called for immediate consideration of a revised Rule 22. Tabling motion agreed to 60-36 (SD 24-0; ND 16-22; R 20-14), Jan. 9, 1959. The President did not take a position on the motion.

\*RC 3. S Res 5. Johnson-Dirksen (R Ill.) proposal to revise Rule 22 by enabling two-thirds of the Senators voting, instead of two-thirds of the Senate membership (66 Senators), to shut off debate on any matter. Douglas (D Ill.) amendment to enable a majority of the Senate membership (50 Senators) to limit debate 15 days after 16 Senators filed a cloture motion. Rejected 28-67 (SD 0-24; ND 20-19; R 8-24), Jan. 12, 1959. The President did not take a position on the resolution.

\*RC 4. S Res 5. Morton (R Ky.) amendment to enable Senators by a three-fifths, instead of two-thirds, vote to shut off debate. Rejected 36-58 (SD 0-24; ND 24-14; R 12-20), Jan. 12, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 5. S Res 5. Adopted 72-22 (SD 10-14; ND 34-5; R 28-3), Jan. 12, 1959. The President did not take a position on the resolution.

\*RC 8. S 57. Capehart amendment to reduce authority for additional public housing units to 17,500 units. Rejected 39-53 (SD 13-11; ND 3-35; R 23-7), Feb. 5, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 10. S 57. Clark (D Pa.) amendment to provide \$450 million annually in fiscal years 1959 through 1962 for urban renewal.

(Continued on page 1494)

## Stands of Individual Southern Democrats

The chart below shows how often individual Southern Democrats voted "with" and "against" the Southern position on party-splitting issues. The figures are based on the 63 Senate roll calls and the 20 House roll calls in 1959 on which the majority of voting Southern Democrats opposed the stand taken by the majority of voting Northern Democrats. (For list of roll calls, see p. 1492)

● COLUMN 1 gives the number of roll calls on which the Member voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the majority of voting Southern Democrats.

● COLUMN 2 gives the number of roll calls on which the Member voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the majority of voting Southern Democrats.

Failure to vote kept the figures for most Senators below the 63 possible and for most Representatives below the 20 possible.

### Senators' Scores

	1.	2.		1.	2.		1.	2.		1.	2.
<b>ALABAMA</b>			<b>GEORGIA</b>			<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>			<b>TENNESSEE</b>		
Hill	25	35	Russell	55	1	Ervin	54	5	Gore	9	45
Sparkman	25	34	Talmadge	58	2	Jordan	53	4	Kefauver	7	45
<b>ARKANSAS</b>			<b>LOUISIANA</b>			<b>OKLAHOMA</b>			<b>TEXAS</b>		
Fulbright	30	23	Ellender	45	10	Kerr	35	20	Johnson	22	37
McClellan	57	2	Long	31	25	Monroney	11	46	Yarborough	11	47
<b>FLORIDA</b>			<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>			<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>			<b>VIRGINIA</b>		
Holland	47	13	Eastland	52	4	Johnston	39	23	Byrd	58	0
Smathers	37	14	Stennis	60	2	Thurmond	61	2	Robertson	60	2

### Representatives' Scores

	1.	2.		1.	2.		1.	2.		1.	2.
<b>ALABAMA</b>			9 Landrum	18	0	3 Barden	15	0	<b>TEXAS</b>		
3 Andrews	17	2	7 Mitchell	15	5	1 Bonner	15	4	3 Beckworth	11	9
1 Boykin	11	4	2 Pilcher	15	3	4 Cooley	11	8	2 Brooks	9	11
7 Elliott	8	7	1 Preston	16	3	6 Durham	9	6	17 Burleson	18	2
2 Grant	17	3	6 Vinson	12	6	2 Fountain	18	2	22 Casey	15	3
9 Huddleston	14	6	<b>KENTUCKY</b>			12 Hall	13	2	7 Dowdy	19	1
8 Jones	11	9	3 Burke	6	14	8 Kitchin	19	0	21 Fisher	18	2
5 Rains	12	8	4 Chelf	11	7	7 Lennon	20	0	13 Ikard	11	9
4 Roberts	10	6	2 Natcher	10	10	5 Scott	16	1	20 Kilday	11	9
6 Selden	16	4	7 Perkins	3	14	11 Whitener	19	1	15 Kilgore	17	3
<b>ARKANSAS</b>			5 Spence	4	10	<b>OKLAHOMA</b>			19 Mahon	14	6
5 Alford	18	2	1 Stubblefield	9	9	3 Albert	7	10	1 Patman	14	6
1 Cathings	19	1	6 Watts	10	7	2 Edmondson	7	11	11 Poage	14	3
4 Harris	16	2	<b>LOUISIANA</b>			5 Jarman	12	8	18 Rogers	17	2
2 Mills	13	7	2 Boggs	10	9	6 Morris	9	11	16 Rutherford	16	4
6 Norrell	20	0	4 Brooks	14	2	4 Steed	14	5	6 Teague	16	4
3 Trimble	10	10	1 Hebert	12	4	<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>			8 Thomas	10	8
<b>FLORIDA</b>			8 McSween	17	1	4 Ashmore	19	0	9 Thompson	14	6
2 Bennett	15	5	6 Morrison	9	2	3 Dorn	19	0	10 Thornberry	11	9
4 Fascell	11	9	5 Passman	16	4	5 Hemphill	18	2	12 Wright	11	9
7 Haley	19	1	7 Thompson	10	1	6 McMillan	18	1	14 Young	17	3
5 Herlong	13	4	3 Willis	16	1	2 Riley	16	2	<b>VIRGINIA</b>		
8 Matthews	17	3	<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>			1 Rivers	16	3	4 Abbitt	20	0
6 Rogers	17	3	1 Abernethy	20	0	<b>TENNESSEE</b>			1 Downing	17	3
3 Sikes	15	2	6 Colmer	19	0	6 Bass	14	6	3 Gary	15	5
<b>GEORGIA</b>			3 Smith	14	6	9 Davis	6	9	2 Hardy	13	6
8 Blitch	16	0	2 Whitten	20	0	8 Everett	16	4	7 Harrison	19	1
10 Brown	17	3	4 Williams	20	0	4 Evins	10	7	9 Jennings	15	5
5 Davis	19	0	5 Winstead	19	0	3 Frazier	12	6	8 Smith	18	1
4 Flynt	20	0	<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>			5 Loser	9	9	5 Tuck	19	0
3 Forrester	17	1	9 Alexander	19	1	7 Murray	16	2			



(Continued from page 1492)

Rejected 33-56 (SD 5-19; ND 27-7; R 1-30), Feb. 5, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 11. S 57. Monroney (D Okla.)-Gore (D Tenn.) amendment to keep the GI loan interest rate at 4.75 percent, instead of raising it to 5.25 percent, and to give the Federal National Mortgage Assn. \$1 billion additional mortgage-buying power. Rejected 27-58 (SD 8-16; ND 17-14; R 2-28), Feb. 5, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 21. S 50. Statehood for Hawaii. Passed 76-15 (SD 10-14; ND 36-0; R 30-1), March 11, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 25. S 722. Authorize Federal loans and grants totaling \$389.5 million for the redevelopment of economically depressed rural and industrial areas. Dirksen (R Ill.) amendment to substitute the Administration program authorizing \$53 million for industrial redevelopment only. Rejected 43-52 (SD 12-10; ND 2-37; R 29-5), March 23, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 28. S 722. Passage of the bill. Passed 49-46 (SD 8-14; ND 37-2; R 4-30), March 23, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 29. HR 5640. Extend until July 1, 1959, some provisions of the Temporary Unemployment Compensation Act of 1958. McNamara (D Mich.) amendment to extend all provisions of the act until July 1, 1960. Rejected 38-49 (SD 5-12; ND 32-8; R 1-29), March 25, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 30. HR 5640. McCarthy (D Minn.) amendment to extend all provisions of the 1958 act until July 1, 1959. Agreed to 52-32 (SD 5-11; ND 38-2; R 9-19), March 25, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 34. S 1555. Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959. Ervin (D N.C.) amendment to limit the bill to its anti-corruption provisions by striking out Title VI, containing Taft-Hartley Act amendments affecting union and employer collective bargaining rights and National Labor Relations Board powers and procedures. Rejected 27-67 (SD 13-11; ND 3-33; R 11-23), April 21, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

\*RC 36. S 1555. McClellan (D Ark.) amendment to add to the bill a new section providing a "Bill of Rights," with criminal penalties, to protect union members against unfair actions by their unions. Agreed to 47-46 (SD 12-11; ND 3-33; R 32-2), April 22, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

\*RC 38. S 1555. McClellan (D Ark.) amendment to permit state labor relations agencies or state courts to handle labor disputes the National Labor Relations Board declines to handle. Rejected 39-52 (SD 15-8; ND 1-35; R 23-9), April 23, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 39. S 1555. Prouty (R Vt.) amendment to substitute for pending Cooper (R Ky.) amendment language to permit state labor relations agencies -- and state courts under certain conditions -- to handle labor disputes the NLRB declines to handle, if they apply Federal labor law. Rejected 40-53 (SD 14-10; ND 2-35; R 24-8), April 24, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 43. S 1555. McClellan (D Ark.) amendment to revise the Taft-Hartley Act ban on secondary boycotts to prohibit unions from inducing or coercing an employer or employee, by any means, to stop doing business with another firm or handling its goods, and to extend the secondary boycott prohibitions to all unions. Rejected 41-50 (SD 14-8; ND 2-35; R 25-7), April 24, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 45. S 1555. Eastland (D Miss.) amendment to require secret-ballot strike votes before any strike could take place.

Rejected 28-60 (SD 11-10; ND 1-36; R 16-14), April 24, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 49. S 1555. Holland (D Fla.) amendment to permit states to regulate or prohibit strikes in public utilities. Rejected 27-64 (SD 14-10; ND 1-36; R 12-18), April 25, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 55. HR 5916. Douglas (D Ill.) amendment to eliminate \$4 million for extension of the Senate subway system. Rejected 39-43 (SD 4-15; ND 20-16; R 15-12), April 29, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 56. HR 5916. Ellender (D La.) amendment to cut the Development Loan Fund appropriation by \$100 million. Rejected 24-54 (SD 13-6; ND 5-27; R 6-21), April 30, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 58. Nomination of Potter Stewart to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. Confirmed 70-17 (SD 7-17; ND 35-0; R 28-0), May 5, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 60. S 1062. Strengthen Federal regulation of bank mergers. O'Mahoney (D Wyo.) amendment to prohibit consent to bank mergers whose effect "may be substantially to lessen competition, or to tend to create a monopoly." Rejected 29-55 (SD 5-16; ND 21-15; R 3-24), May 14, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

\*RC 63. S 1968. Provide a new wheat program for the 1960 and 1961 crops. Humphrey (D Minn.) motion to amend a Williams (R Del.)-Bush (R Conn.) amendment to prohibit consent to bank mergers whose effect "may be substantially to lessen competition, or to tend to create a monopoly." Rejected 29-55 (SD 5-16; ND 21-15; R 3-24), May 14, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 64. S 1968. Williams (R Del.)-Bush (R Conn.) amendment to limit to \$35,000 the total amount of price support loans to any person for any one year's production of agricultural commodities. Agreed to 57-20 (SD 4-12; ND 27-8; R 26-0), May 22, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 65. S 1968. Humphrey (D Minn.) amendment to provide price supports of 85 percent of parity, rather than the bill's 80 percent, to wheat farmers reducing acreage by 20 percent. Rejected 30-48 (SD 5-13; ND 20-13; R 5-22), May 22, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 70. HR 5805. Clark (D Pa.) amendment to increase by \$12,469,000 -- to \$377,100,000 -- Internal Revenue Service funds for additional enforcement personnel. Rejected 25-31 (SD 4-7; ND 18-6; R 3-18), May 28, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 96. HR 7523. Clark (D Pa.) amendment to deny deductions for certain entertainment, gift and travel expenses. Rejected 34-44 (SD 7-16; ND 23-6; R 4-22), June 25, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

\*RC 98. HR 7523. Douglas (D Ill.) amendment to reduce, on a graduated scale, the depletion allowance on oil and gas wells. Rejected 21-54 (SD 2-21; ND 14-12; R 5-21), June 25, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

\*RC 101. HR 7523. Gore (D Tenn.) amendment to divert from the general revenues to the Highway Trust Fund certain percentages of the taxes on sales of trucks, buses, automobiles, lubricating oil and automobile parts. Rejected 32-47 (SD 11-12; ND 21-8; R 0-27), June 25, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 103. HR 7523. Adoption of the conference report. Adopted 57-35 (SD 17-5; ND 8-30; R 32-0), June 29, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 105. S 1451. Mutual Security Act of 1959. Aiken (R Vt.) motion to table Case (R S.D.) appeal from a ruling of the Presiding Officer that the Foreign Relations Committee's provision for

financing the Development Loan Fund by Treasury borrowings of \$1 billion a year was permissible under Senate rules. Rejected 42-48 (SD 7-17; ND 28-7; R 7-24), July 1, 1959. The President did not take a position on the motion.

RC 106. S 1451. Johnston (D S.C.) amendment to prohibit aid to any country that expropriates United States-owned property without adequate compensation. Rejected 39-44 (SD 15-9; ND 13-20; R 11-15), July 2, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 107. S 1451. Ellender (D La.) amendment to authorize appropriation of \$700 million for the Development Loan Fund instead of \$2 billion for two years. Rejected 30-50 (SD 14-9; ND 6-25; R 10-16), July 2, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 108. S 1451. Ellender amendment to reduce military assistance authorization from \$1,600,000,000 to \$1,050,000,000. Rejected 38-55 (SD 15-8; ND 14-22; R 9-25), July 7, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 110. S 1451. Ellender amendment to reduce defense support authorization from \$835 million to \$600 million. Rejected 40-53 (SD 15-8; ND 13-23; R 12-22), July 7, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 114. S 1451. Morse (D Ore.) amendment to reduce special assistance authorization from \$244,620,000 to \$200 million. Rejected 40-51 (SD 15-7; ND 16-20; R 9-24), July 8, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 117. S 1451. Modified Morse (D Ore.) amendment barring aid to countries which practice racial or religious discrimination against Americans unless the President determines that such a denial would adversely affect national security. Rejected 43-47 (SD 2-20; ND 30-5; R 11-22), July 8, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 118. HR 7500. Senate-amended version of the House's Mutual Security Act of 1959, authorizing \$3,543,320,000. Passage of the bill. Passed 65-26 (SD 10-13; ND 29-5; R 26-8), July 8, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 132. S 819. Amend the National Defense Education Act of 1958 by eliminating the loyalty oath requirement for students applying for Federal funds. Dirksen (R Ill.) motion to table Javits (R N.Y.) amendment. Javits' amendment would have required students to take oaths of allegiance but not to file affidavits that they did not support subversive organizations. Rejected 39-54 (SD 17-7; ND 7-31; R 15-16), July 23, 1959. The President did not take a position on the motion.

\*RC 133. S 819. Javits loyalty oath amendment. Agreed to 46-45 (SD 6-17; ND 30-7; R 10-21), July 23, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

\*RC 134. S 819. Bush (R Conn.) motion to table Javits (R N.Y.) motion to reconsider the vote on the Javits amendment. Agreed to 50-42 (SD 7-17; ND 31-6; R 12-19), July 23, 1959. The President did not take a position on the motion.

\*RC 135. S 819. Long (D La.) motion to recommit the bill. Agreed to 49-42 (SD 18-6; ND 8-28; R 23-8), July 23, 1959. The President did not take a position on the motion.

\*RC 139. S 716. Authorize the Attorney General to compel businesses to produce documentary evidence required in the investigation of civil antitrust suits. Dirksen (R Ill.) amendment authorizing the owner of documents to seek a district court order to prohibit or limit examination of secret processes, developments, research or other privileged material by an antitrust agency other than the Justice Department or by Congressional committees. Agreed to 61-27 (SD 17-3; ND 12-23; R 32-1), July 29, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

\*RC 153. S 812. Create a 150,000-member Federal Youth Conservation Corps to work on Federal and state conservation

projects. Passed 47-45 (SD 10-13; ND 35-2; R 2-30), Aug. 13, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 161. S 2539. Frear (D Del.) amendment to reduce public housing units authorized in the bill from 37,000 to 25,000. Rejected 40-51 (SD 13-10; ND 3-33; R 24-8), Aug. 17, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 162. S 2539. Bennett (R Utah) amendment to eliminate a section requiring the Defense Department to buy up Wherry rental housing for the military where there is no Capehart military housing. Agreed to 56-39 (SD 14-9; ND 14-25; R 28-5), Aug. 18, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 186. HR 1. Lake Michigan water diversion bill. Butler (R Md.) motion to refer the bill to the Foreign Relations Committee. Agreed to 54-34 (SD 13-10; ND 15-19; R 26-5), Sept. 2, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 189. S 1748. Extend for one year the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (PL 480, 83rd Congress) under which surplus farm commodities are sent abroad. Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee amendment to extend for three years, rather than one, Titles I and II of the Act. Agreed to 47-38 (SD 9-14; ND 23-9; R 15-15), Sept. 4, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 190. S 1748. Additional committee amendment, as modified by Humphrey (D Minn.), to entitle the bill the "Food and Fiber for Peace Act of 1959." Rejected 39-48 (SD 7-15; ND 25-8; R 7-25), Sept. 4, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

\*RC 191. S 1748. Committee amendment to amend Title I of the Act to permit grants of surplus agricultural commodities to underdeveloped countries for establishment of national food reserves. Rejected 42-46 (SD 8-14; ND 22-11; R 12-21), Sept. 4, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 192. S 1748. Humphrey (D Minn.) amendment to direct the Secretary of Agriculture to establish demonstration food stamp programs in from three to six separate areas in the U.S., and to improve certain foods donated to the school lunch program. Rejected 41-46 (SD 11-12; ND 28-4; R 2-30), Sept. 4, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 196. HR 8678. Neuberger (D Ore.) amendment deleting a provision exempting parts of the Interstate Highway System in incorporated cities or commercial-industrial areas from the 1958 Federal billboard regulations. Rejected 39-44 (SD 4-16; ND 19-14; R 16-14), Sept. 5, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

\*RC 198. S 1748. Humphrey (D Minn.) amendment directing the Secretary of Agriculture to establish demonstration food stamp programs and authorizing appropriation of \$15 million for such purpose. Agreed to 44-38 (SD 9-12; ND 27-4; R 8-22), Sept. 7, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 199. S 1748. Butler (R Md.)-Bridges (R N.H.) amendment to require that shipments of surplus farm commodities be delivered directly to the export vessel at a U.S. port. Rejected 37-44 (SD 12-9; ND 12-18; R 13-17), Sept. 7, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

\*RC 200. S 1748. Hart (D Mich.) amendment to transfer from the Department of Agriculture to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare the responsibility for distribution of food to the needy and authorize \$150 million to purchase foods not held by the Commodity Credit Corp. Rejected 18-64 (SD 1-20; ND 16-14; R 1-30), Sept. 7, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 209. HR 5421. Authorize a three-year, \$15 million program of construction subsidies for fishing vessels. Passed 55-30 (SD 10-12; ND 30-4; R 15-14), Sept. 11, 1959. The President did not take a position on the bill.

\*RC 210. S 1697. Give the President authority to approve economic aid for Communist-dominated countries other than the

Soviet Union or those in the Far East when important for national security. Passed 49-40 (SD 10-13; ND 23-10; R 16-17), Sept. 12, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 211. HR 8385. Senate version of the Mutual Security Appropriation bill, appropriating \$3,281,813,000 for mutual security in fiscal 1960 and \$410,449,137 for various Federal agencies. Ellender (D La.) amendment to reduce military assistance funds by \$100 million -- to \$1.2 billion. Rejected 37-53 (SD 16-8; ND 14-22; R 7-23), Sept. 12, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 212. HR 8385. Bridges (R N.H.) amendment to earmark \$50 million in defense support funds for Spain. Agreed to 49-38 (SD 13-9; ND 8-27; R 28-2), Sept. 12, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

RC 213. HR 8385. Hayden (D Ariz.) motion to suspend the rules so as to permit legislation to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission to be added to the appropriation bill. Agreed to 71-18 (SD 5-17; ND 38-0; R 28-1), Sept. 14, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 214. HR 8385. Hayden (D Ariz.) amendment to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission two years, to Nov. 8, 1961, and appropriate \$500,000 to it. Agreed to 71-18 (SD 5-17; ND 38-0; R 28-1), Sept. 14, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 215. HR 8385. Passage of the mutual security and other agencies' appropriation bill. Passed 64-25 (SD 6-16; ND 35-3; R 23-6), Sept. 14, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

## House Roll Calls (20)

RC 6. S 50. Passage of the Senate version of the Hawaii statehood bill. Passed 323-89 (SD 40-63; ND 163-2; R 120-24), March 12, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 20. HR 7175. Appropriate \$3,939,165,498 for the Department of Agriculture in fiscal 1960. Taber (R N.Y.) motion to recommit the bill with instructions to add language that would limit to \$50,000 any single Commodity Credit Corp. price-support loan. Agreed to 261-165 (SD 16-90; ND 98-71; R 147-4), May 20, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 21. S 57. Housing Act of 1959. Thomas (D Texas) amendment to make all additional funds authorized in the bill available only upon enactment of pertinent appropriation bills. Agreed to 222-201 (SD 62-45; ND 18-149; R 142-7), May 21, 1959. The President did not take a position on the amendment.

\*RC 22. S 57. Kilburn (R N.Y.) motion to recommit the bill and substitute the Herlong (D Fla.) bill (HR 7117), authorizing no public housing and cutting the total housing authorization to \$1.3 billion. Rejected 189-234 (SD 55-52; ND 5-163; R 129-19), May 21, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 24. HR 7176. Appropriate \$13,338,500 for the Executive Office of the President in fiscal 1960. Gross (R Iowa) motion to recommit the bill with instructions to add language which would specifically prohibit use of the President's Emergency Fund for propaganda on legislation. Rejected 171-229 (SD 52-46; ND 77-85; R 42-98), May 27, 1959. The President did not take a position on the motion.

RC 42. HR 7500. Mutual Security Act of 1959, authorizing \$3,542,600,000 in fiscal 1960 funds. Passed 271-142 (SD 39-62; ND 143-21; R 89-59), June 18, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 44. H Res 288. Open rule for debate on HR 3, a bill to limit court application of the Federal preemption doctrine. Adopted 233-116 (SD 96-2; ND 25-105; R 112-9), June 22, 1959. The President did not take a position on the rule.

\*RC 46. HR 3. Permit Federal courts to strike down state laws under the Federal preemption doctrine only if Congress had specified its intention to preempt the field of legislation involved or if a state and a Federal law were in irreconcilable conflict, and to permit state enforcement of laws barring subversive activities against the Federal Government. Lindsay (R N.Y.) motion to recommit the bill. Rejected 191-227 (SD 5-102; ND 156-10; R 30-115), June 24, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 47. HR 3. Passage of the bill. Passed 225-192 (SD 102-5; ND 9-157; R 114-30), June 24, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 51. HR 4957. "Mallory rule" bill to amend the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure to bar Federal judges from disqualifying confessions of suspects solely because of delay in bringing suspects for arraignment. Lindsay (R N.Y.) motion to recommit the bill. Rejected 138-261 (SD 1-103; ND 120-36; R 17-122), July 7, 1959. The President did not take a position on the motion.

\*RC 52. HR 4957. Passage of the bill. Passed 262-138 (SD 101-2; ND 38-120; R 123-16), July 7, 1959. The President did not take a position on the bill.

RC 53. HR 7500. Adoption of the conference report authorizing \$3,556,200,000 for foreign aid in fiscal 1960. Adopted 258-153 (SD 37-69; ND 145-17; R 76-67), July 22, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 56. HR 8385. Mutual Security and Related Agencies Appropriation bill, appropriating \$3,186,500,000 for the Mutual Security Program in fiscal 1960 and \$5,282,000 for Army administration of the Ryukyu Islands. Passed 279-136 (SD 42-60; ND 150-18; R 87-58), July 29, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 58. HR 8342. Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959. Landrum (D Ga.) and Griffin (R Mich.) amendment to substitute for the committee bill the language of their bill, containing curbs on secondary boycotts and organizational and recognition picketing, and giving the states power to handle "no man's land" labor disputes. Agreed to 229-201 (SD 85-24; ND 10-160; R 134-17), Aug. 13, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 59. HR 8342. Kearns (R Pa.) motion to recommit the bill. Rejected 149-279 (SD 5-102; ND 136-35; R 8-142), Aug. 14, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 60. HR 8342. Passage of the bill. Passed 303-125 (SD 106-2; ND 50-120; R 147-3), Aug. 14, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

\*RC 61. HR 7040. Independent Offices Appropriations for fiscal 1960. Thomas (D Texas) motion that the House disagree, for the second time, to a Senate amendment providing \$25 million, instead of the \$10 million approved by the House, for Federal contributions to the states for the civil defense program. Agreed to 241-167 (SD 79-23; ND 59-102; R 103-42), Aug. 14, 1959. A "nay" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 77. HR 8678. Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1959, raising the Federal tax on gasoline from 3 cents to 4 cents per gallon through June 30, 1961. Passed 243-162 (SD 49-54; ND 89-73; R 105-35), Sept. 3, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 86. HR 8385. Mutual Security Appropriation bill, appropriating \$3,225,813,000 for mutual security in fiscal 1960 and \$400,905,137 for various Federal agencies. Adoption of conference report. Adopted 194-109 (SD 20-68; ND 112-13; R 62-28), Sept. 15, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.

RC 87. HR 8385. Rooney (D N.Y.) motion that the House concur in a Senate amendment extending the life of the Civil Rights Commission for two years, to Nov. 8, 1961, and appropriating \$500,000 to it. Agreed to 221-81 (SD 16-72; ND 125-1; R 80-8), Sept. 15, 1959. A "yea" was a vote supporting the President's position.



## HOUSE TO CONSIDER HELP FOR COLLEGES

The House Ways and Means Committee Nov. 19 began considering proposals to revise the tax laws to ease the financial plight of the public and private colleges.

The Nov. 19 panel discussion among outside experts and the House Ways and Means Committee was part of a series on the whole Federal tax system. (See p. 1500)

The purpose of the discussions and subsequent hearings, to be held by the Committee in 1960, is to lay the groundwork for an overhaul of the Federal tax laws.

### Colleges' Plight

The plight of the colleges is that expenses and enrollment are outrunning income. Projections by the U.S. Office of Education show that expenses of the colleges and universities in the United States will double in the next 10 years. These projections, put together by the Council for Financial Aid to Education on the basis of Federal figures, show the 10-year pattern:

College Year	Money Needed	Increase	Enrollment
1958-59	\$4,416,401,068	\$278,318,530	3,584,900
1959-60	4,712,299,940	295,898,872	3,738,900
1960-61	5,028,024,036	315,724,096	3,923,700
1961-62	5,364,901,646	336,877,610	4,169,000
1962-63	5,724,350,056	359,448,410	4,404,000
1963-64	6,107,881,510	383,531,454	4,607,900
1964-65	6,517,109,571	409,228,061	4,809,200
1965-66	6,953,755,912	436,646,341	5,144,700
1966-67	7,419,657,558	465,901,646	5,506,600
1967-68	7,916,774,614	497,117,056	5,864,100
1968-69	8,447,198,513	530,423,899	6,178,700
1969-70	9,013,160,813	565,962,300	6,375,600

Some college groups contend the Federal tax system should be revised to stimulate private giving to colleges and universities. The American Assn. for the Advancement of Science is pushing a bill (HR 2440) to do this, introduced by Rep. Frank Thompson Jr. (D N.J.).

### Thompson Bill

Thompson's measure, introduced Jan. 15, would allow individuals to subtract 91 percent of the amount they gave to colleges from their Federal income tax bill. For example, if a taxpayer figured he owed the Government \$300 in income taxes without counting the \$100 he gave to his alma mater, he could subtract \$91 from that \$300. Thompson argues his bill would merely equalize the tax treatment on college contributions.

In the case of corporations, the current maximum income tax is 52 percent. So if a corporation contributes \$100 to a college and then claims it as a deduction, the net cost of the contribution is \$48. Some small corporations pay less than 52 percent income tax to the Federal Government. Thompson's bill would allow them to subtract 52 percent of their college contributions.

Under Thompson's bill, individuals could get income tax credit for contributions up to 15 percent of their adjusted gross income. The corporate limit would be 10 percent of gross income. Corporations currently can deduct up to 5 percent for college and other contributions.

**Administration Objections--** Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Oct. 23 opposed HR 2440. He said it would divert private giving away from other public services such as hospitals and might create a financial void the Government would have to fill. He added that the tax credit would amount to taking money away from the Federal Treasury. "This is comparable," Flemming said, "to a delegation to private persons of the power to disburse Federal funds.... The bill would permit these funds to be disbursed without any accountability to the people and without any public participation in their distribution."

### Deductions

Several other bills pending before the House Ways and Means Committee are designed to make it easier for the parents to send their children to college. One proposal (HR 38), backed by the American Council on Education, would allow parents to subtract 30 percent of what they paid in college tuition from their Federal income tax bill. There are nine other bills (HR 455, 824, 1268, 2160, 2206, 2473, 2892, 4648, 4651) of this type pending before the House Ways and Means Committee.

Another stack of bills (HR 98, 295, 478, 1264, 1289, 1303, 2169, 2809, 2943, 3634, 3847, 4349, 4485, 4717, 5757, 6654, 6747, 6907, 7015, 7495) awaiting consideration would allow parents to deduct from their taxable income the money they spent on tuition and other college expenses. Some of these bills would allow the parents to deduct all college costs, including meals, while others are limited to tuition. These measures have been termed "rich man's bills" since the deductions would be most helpful to those in the high income tax brackets.

**Administration Objections--** Flemming objected to these proposals. He said "to the extent that these bills are designed to increase the number of young people who continue their education beyond high school, they seem plainly inadequate and largely misdirected. None of them appears likely to augment by more than a few hundred dollars per year the amount available to a student desirous of securing a college education."

Some tax experts claim that the extra tax deductions would only result in the colleges raising their tuition by a proportional amount. Therefore, they argue, the proposals in the final analysis would not help the parents but might mean slightly more income for the colleges.

Flemming, in submitting his views on the tax bills, said the Bureau of the Budget agreed with his stand. That makes it likely President Eisenhower would veto any of these tax measures which he believed would result in a substantial lessening of Federal income. In addition, many of these measures have been pending for several years without Congress taking any action on them. With President Eisenhower's determination to keep the Federal budget as nearly balanced as possible, there appears only an outside chance that any of the tax bills to help colleges themselves or those paying college expenses will become law in 1960.

## NIXON ACTIVITIES

Vice President Richard M. Nixon Nov. 12-13 was on a speaking tour of Wisconsin and Indiana. In both states, party leaders told him he was their solid choice for the 1960 Presidential nomination.

In Indianapolis Nov. 14, Nixon described his prospective rival, New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R), as "a formidable national figure" with "a great deal of appeal." But Nixon also drew a sharp line between Rockefeller, on one side, and the Administration and himself, on the other, on two key issues:

- **NUCLEAR TESTING** -- Nixon Nov. 12 defended the Administration's decision to continue the ban on nuclear tests against Rockefeller's suggestion that underground testing be resumed. (Weekly Report p. 1470)

Nixon said: "When you are on the outside looking in without responsibility and don't know all of the facts involved, you can very well reach an opinion you should not reach if you had all the facts. Having all the facts, I can say the President reached the right decision." Nixon added that the U.S. would have to resume underground tests if negotiations with the Russians "reach a dead end" but said such action was not justified "at this point."

- **BALANCE OF PAYMENTS** -- Nixon Nov. 13 defended the Administration's "Buy American" policy for purchases financed by the Development Loan Fund. Rockefeller criticized the policy Nov. 12. (See below).

Nixon said the change was needed to "bring home to our allies in Europe that they should aid others and lower their trade barriers to American goods." He said "the time has passed" when the United States alone must provide assistance to underdeveloped countries.

While Nixon campaigned personally, his backers were busy in other states:

- **NEW HAMPSHIRE** -- A full-time Nixon-for-President headquarters was opened Nov. 12 in Concord, N.H., with Sens. Styles Bridges (R N.H.) and Norris Cotton (R N.H.) on hand to predict victory for Nixon in the March 8 primary. (Weekly Report p. 1483)

- **NEW YORK** -- A New York state Nixon-for-President committee was formed Nov. 15, with the backing of 37 leading corporation executives, lawyers, advertising officials and others.

Peter M. Flanagan, a vice president of the investment banking firm of Dillon, Read & Co. and head of the new committee, said it would not embarrass anyone in the New York Republican organization by "asking them to take sides," but would serve as "a platform" for the "enormous number of persons in New York who are for Mr. Nixon."

- **VERMONT** -- A group of Nixon backers, led by Republican National Committeeman Edward G. Janeway, Nov. 17 laid plans for a Nixon drive in Vermont. The move came one day after reports were published that some Vermont Republicans were contemplating a favorite son drive for Sen. George D. Aiken (R Vt.). Aiken had predicted a Rockefeller victory over Nixon in the New Hampshire primary. (Weekly Report p. 1470)

- **ENDORSEMENTS** -- The 13-state Republican Western Conference in Los Angeles Nov. 15 gave its

"commendation and unqualified support" to President Eisenhower and Nixon and elected an enthusiastic Nixon backer, California National Committeeman Edward S. Shattuck, as its new chairman.

Three Governors attending the conference Nov. 14 said Nixon was the favorite in their states. They were Utah Gov. George D. Clyde (R), Montana Gov. J. Hugo Aronson (R) and Idaho Gov. Robert E. Smylie (R).

Edgar Eisenhower, brother of the President, Nov. 16 said he was for Nixon because "he has all the qualities."

There were newspaper reports Nov. 15 that several other persons closely identified with President Eisenhower would soon come out for Nixon.

Among those mentioned were such personal friends of the President as Clifford J. Roberts and Sidney J. Weinberg, New York financiers; William A. Jones and William E. Robinson, corporation executives, and Walter Williams, a co-founder of the 1952 Citizens for Eisenhower movement.

The reports said Nixon's campaign would be managed by Leonard W. Hall, former Republican national chairman, and that finances would be directed by John Clifford Folger, who had the same role in the 1956 Eisenhower campaign.

## ROCKEFELLER ACTIVITIES

New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R) Nov. 12-15 made his first speaking tour of the Western states, home political base of his probable rival for the 1960 Republican Presidential nomination, Vice President Richard M. Nixon. He visited California, Oregon, Washington and Idaho.

Estimates of the success of the trip differed. Reporters accompanying Rockefeller wrote that he drew unusually large crowds, but that his formal speeches were poorly-delivered and evoked little enthusiasm. They reported that his off-the-cuff remarks and answers to questions were better received. The crowds grew friendlier, they said, as he moved from California into Oregon and Washington.

In California, Nixon's home state, Rockefeller was confronted with hundreds of Nixon buttons and thunderous cheers whenever the Vice President's name was mentioned. Many California leaders urged him not to contest with Nixon for the nomination but, instead, to become his running-mate.

Rockefeller told one woman who gave him this advice to find "a candidate for President who doesn't have to be propped up by the candidate for Vice President."

Republican organization leaders in the Western states, many of them avowed Nixon backers, said Rockefeller's visit had not dented Nixon's strength. Alphonzo E. Bell Jr., Los Angeles County chairman, Nov. 13 said, "I talked with about 50 party workers who met him (Rockefeller) today. Nothing transpired to change their position." Those views were echoed by Edward S. Shattuck, California's national committeeman, and ex-Sen. William F. Knowland (R).

Even Oregon Gov. Mark O. Hatfield (R), who had been described by Rockefeller as a man who "would make a

wonderful Vice President," Nov. 16 said he believed Nixon was now the stronger candidate even though Rockefeller had improved his position by his visit to the state.

But the most significant reaction, perhaps, was that of Rockefeller himself, who insisted he had not decided whether to challenge Nixon. Rockefeller Nov. 15 said the trip convinced him no one had the nomination "sewed up." He said, "I assume the delegates would not put their votes in an envelope today, seal them up and then take them out on the day of the convention."

Rockefeller aides went further than that. They said the private comments of Western Republicans were not as cool to Rockefeller as their public statements. They compared the Western trip's effectiveness to the "softening up" visits Rockefeller made to Republican county organizations in New York in the spring of 1958, when his chances of winning the gubernatorial nomination seemed remote.

During the week, Rockefeller also made significant statements on the following issues and personalities:

- **NIXON** -- Rockefeller Nov. 11 praised Nixon for his work as chairman of the President's Committee on Government Contracts, which seeks to eliminate discrimination in private employment. (Weekly Report p. 329)

During the Western swing, however, Rockefeller refused several times to predict that Nixon could be elected if nominated. "I wouldn't know the answer to that question," he said Nov. 14.

On Nov. 15, however, he predicted that "the man nominated by the Republican party...will win," and the next day reporters with Rockefeller reported, without direct attribution to him, that he was opposed to using a "Nixon can't win" argument. He was represented as believing the argument was untrue, immoral and generally a poor substitute for a discussion of issues.

- **ADMINISTRATION RECORD** -- Rockefeller Nov. 12 was asked if he would run on the Eisenhower Administration record if nominated. He replied the record was "superb" but added that "you can't draw exclusively on past action for future action and decisions."

- **BALANCE OF PAYMENTS** -- Rockefeller Nov. 12 dissented from the Administration's "Buy American" policy for purchases financed by the Development Loan Fund. He said it was his understanding that whenever dollars go out of this country, they eventually come back. (See p. 1503 and Weekly Report p. 1474)

- **CHINA** -- Rockefeller Nov. 14 said the Administration's policy on Communist China "under present circumstances is the only sound policy for us to follow," but he said "our contacts are not as intimate as ultimately they will have to be if we are to have lasting peace with justice and freedom."

- **EDUCATION** -- Rockefeller Nov. 14 said the national investment in education would have to double in the next 10 years. He said, "Federal aid to school construction and Federal scholarships offer the best means of providing Federal support without undermining local leadership."

- **SCHOOL INTEGRATION** -- Rockefeller Nov. 11 described the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision as "a great landmark of our times...a necessary and an historic affirmation and clarification of the essential liberties and the abiding principles by which America must live."

- **KENNEDY** -- Rockefeller Nov. 11 said it was a "landmark of a growing maturity" that the Democratic party was considering nominating a Roman Catholic for the

Presidency in 1960. Without mentioning Sen. John F. Kennedy (D Mass.) by name, Rockefeller commented that "if this man should be nominated by his party, it will be neither because of his religion nor in spite of his religion, but because he is an attractive, popular and useful public servant."

## DEMOCRATIC PRESIDENTIAL RACE

The major developments in the Democratic Presidential contest: (Weekly Report p. 1484)

- **WISCONSIN PRIMARY** -- Sens. Hubert H. Humphrey (D Minn.) and John F. Kennedy (D Mass.) Nov. 13 and 14 spoke on successive nights to the Wisconsin state Democratic convention. Each received a rousing welcome from his backers in the state. Humphrey repeated his intention to run in the April 5 Wisconsin primary against any opposition that presents itself. Kennedy's plans for the Wisconsin primary remained in doubt.

A committee to draft Adlai E. Stevenson was formed during the convention under the leadership of James E. Doyle, former state chairman. Doyle said no move would be made to enter Stevenson in the primary, but the group would seek to have the Wisconsin delegation switch to Stevenson if, as he expected, a deadlock developed at the national convention.

- **KENNEDY VIEWS** -- The New York Herald Tribune Nov. 16 said Kennedy had told friends Stevenson would be his choice as his Secretary of State but that he would not take the Vice Presidential nomination with Stevenson or anyone else. (Weekly Report p. 1170)

- **JOHNSON** -- Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson (D Texas) Nov. 15 repeated his contention that "I am not a candidate for President," but added, "I am not going to say today that if my country said to me that it wanted me to do a particular type of service, I would close the door and say that I would refuse to do that service." (Weekly Report p. 1484)

Sen. Pat McNamara (D Mich.) Nov. 16 said he could not support Johnson for President. "I've dealt with him close up for five years and I just don't think Johnson represents the philosophy of the Democratic party," McNamara said. (For other Senators' comments on Johnson, see Weekly Report p. 1470. For McNamara-Johnson disagreement on legislation, see Weekly Report p. 517, 549)

## LANGER SUCCESSOR NAMED

North Dakota Gov. John E. Davis (R) Nov. 19 appointed ex-Gov. C. Norman Brunsdale (R 1951-57) to fill the Senate vacancy created by the death Nov. 8 of Sen. William Langer (R N.D.). (Weekly Report p. 1487)

At the same time, Davis announced a special election for the remainder of Langer's term will be held in conjunction with the state primary next June 28. Brunsdale, 68, will serve until the winner of that special election is sworn in. The man elected in June will serve through 1964.

Brunsdale is a leader in the Republican Organizing Committee group which sought unsuccessfully to defeat Langer for renomination in 1958. He is expected to vote more regularly with the majority of Senate Republicans than Langer did.

Davis himself is expected to be a candidate for the Senate in the June 28 special election.

## LATIN AMERICA POLICY

COMMITTEE -- Senate Foreign Relations, American Republics Affairs Subcommittee.

ACTION -- Nov. 19 released the first in a series of studies on U.S.-Latin American relations, covering post World War II political developments. The study was prepared by the University of New Mexico's School of Inter-American Affairs.

The report said "the overwhelming problem in Latin America today and for the foreseeable future is the social revolution," with the entire area "in the throes of a painful process of fundamental social, economic, and political transformation." It termed a "very important recent political development" the "anti-militaristic, anti-dictatorial trend," and said ultimately armed forces political control "must wane" because "the wave of popular pressure against it will become irresistible."

In view of these trends, the report said U.S.-Latin American relations since the beginning of the cold war had become "increasingly incompatible" because of U.S. emphasis on hemispheric security. Such emphasis, the report said, "appears seriously out of line with our political and economic objectives and long-term interests," and promoted "an artificial political stability." Latin Americans did not consider the Communist threat from without as a common responsibility, and the threat from within was a police problem, not a military one, the study said.

The study recommended that the U.S. should: abandon the use of military programs "as a means to win political support of the Latin American military" and gradually eliminate all military aid; make more distinction, both in its aid program and general attitude, between "high-handed military dictatorship and struggling civilian democracy" (both the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations had at times commended dictatorial regimes, the report said); develop long-range economic aid policies; carefully abide by the non-intervention doctrine; attempt to settle the continental shelf problem on a regional basis and the fisheries control problem on an individual state basis; publicly take an anti-colonialist stand as a means of winning over embryonic national forces "before they are used and exploited by the Communists;" and encourage in the United Nations a "present trend toward declining hegemony of the Security Council and increasing importance for the General Assembly."

RELATED DEVELOPMENT -- Nov. 14 -- President Eisenhower approved creation of a National Advisory Committee on Inter-American Affairs, under the chairmanship of Secretary of State Christian A. Herter, and said its creation should serve as "tangible evidence of the importance which the United States attaches to relations with the other American Republics." A White House announcement said the President was convinced the group "would perform a very helpful function both in terms of developing useful ideas with respect to our inter-American relations and in promoting wider understanding of these relations among the peoples of this country."

The Committee was recommended by the President's brother, Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, in a January 4, 1959

report following a Latin American tour. Dr. Eisenhower, president of Johns Hopkins University, will serve on the Committee, along with Assistant Secretary of State Roy R. Rubottom Jr., who will act as vice chairman; Walter J. Donnelly of U.S. Steel Corp.; G. Kenneth Holland of the Institute of International Education; O.A. Knight, an AFL-CIO vice president; Charles A. Meyer, Sears, Roebuck and Co. vice president, and Dan G. Munro of Princeton University. (Weekly Report p. 678)

## U.S.-SOVIET ECONOMIES

COMMITTEE -- Joint Economic, Economic Statistics Subcommittee.

BEGAN HEARINGS -- On the U.S. and Soviet economies.

TESTIMONY -- Nov. 13 -- Allen W. Dulles, Central Intelligence Agency director, said the industrial strength of the U.S.S.R. had grown "at a rate at least twice as rapid as that of the United States since 1950." Russian industrial production (as distinguished from over-all production) currently was 40 percent that of the U.S., he said. Estimating the Soviets' annual rate of industrial growth at 8 percent to 9 percent over the next 10 years, Dulles said Russian production would reach 60 percent of the U.S. level by 1970, even if the U.S. boosted its industrial growth rate to 4.5 percent.

If the U.S. industrial capacity were to increase by an average of only 2 percent per year -- the figure quoted by Soviet Premier Khrushchev as the limit of U.S. industrial growth -- Soviet production, by 1970, would be more than 80 percent of that of the U.S., Dulles said.

Nov. 16 -- Hans Heymann Jr. of the Rand Corp. and Robert W. Campbell of the University of Southern California said the high estimates of Soviet industrial growth were accepted as fact by U.S. economists.

## INCOME TAX REFORM

COMMITTEE -- House Ways and Means.

BEGAN HEARINGS -- On income-tax reform.

Chairman Wilbur D. Mills (D Ark.), in an opening statement, said the hearings would show that "action should be taken to broaden the income-tax base" so that the existing high level of rates could be reduced. Mills said that because of special allowances, exclusions and other benefits, 65 to 70 percent of income was not taxed; as a result inordinately high rates were applied to income that was taxed. Testimony of major organizations:

Nov. 16 -- John C. Davidson, National Assn. of Manufacturers, said income taxes should be reduced. He said a thorough revamping of tax rates would boost annual personal income by \$40 billion within eight years.

Nov. 17 -- Ralph Robey, NAM, recommended a general sales tax applied at the manufacturers' level. Robey also recommended a uniform excise tax because existing excise taxes were "discriminatory and inequitable," applying to some products but not to others.

Nov. 18 -- Raymond Muntz, AFL-CIO, said social security benefits should be taxed, but that the existing tax on portions of an employee's income paid into the social security fund each week should be eliminated.



## REPORT ON AGING

The White House Nov. 16 released a report to the President by the Federal Council on Aging on programs and resources for older people. The council was established by the President in March 1959 as a Cabinet-level group, headed by Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare. (Weekly Report p. 369)

The report said one of the older worker's major problems was "the continued existence of definite barriers to his employment once he becomes unemployed," and that although restrictions generally began at age 45 they also often were present at age 40 or earlier. Other problems listed included: need for more effective planning for educational opportunities; expansion of good housing for all income levels; increased services to help restore older persons to self-care or self-support; coordination and improvement of community health services and cost of medical care.

The report called for additional fact-finding on "specific controversial subjects" such as the effect on pension costs of hiring older workers, the effect of automation and criteria for success in training or retraining. It said further research also was needed to improve counseling and job placement techniques. It said the Civil Service Commission was considering a proposal for "gradual retirement" whereby employees could retire voluntarily and be reemployed on a part-time basis, with greater flexibility in combining annuity income and earnings.

The report said the Government would pay out an estimated \$14.6 billion from trust funds and appropriations in fiscal 1960 in benefits and services for older persons, but that maximum effectiveness of Federal efforts "depends on coordinated action with other organized elements of our society."

## TEAMSTER MONITORS

The Supreme Court Nov. 16 denied a Teamsters Union petition for review of court orders authorizing a union cleanup by a board of monitors, and the action cleared the way for the monitors to expedite their demands for union reforms. The Teamsters had challenged the validity of a 1958 court order establishing the board and a February 1959 order extending the board's powers. The Court's action was a simple rejection of the petition, with no opinions or vote disclosures. The Court also refused to consider a separate appeal by John Cunningham challenging the original consent order. (Weekly Report p. 1457)

Monitor chairman Martin F. O'Donoghue Nov. 16 said, "We will move fast now -- the last legal roadblock is out of the way." The immediate agenda, he said, would call for prosecuting corruption charges against Teamster President James R. Hoffa, installing new auditing procedures, safeguarding rights of rank-and-file members, releasing local unions from trusteeship and pressing for expulsion of several union officials.

## LABOR CONFERENCE

AFL-CIO President George Meany Nov. 16 released an exchange of correspondence with President Eisenhower in which Meany proposed that the President call a national conference of union and industry leaders "to consider and develop guiding lines for just and harmonious labor-management relations." Meany, in a Nov. 9 letter, said such a meeting might halt "drifting by statute into rigid and arbitrary rules for collective bargaining."

The President, in a Nov. 10 reply, said the Executive Branch, "for some time" had been discussing "the need for labor-management communication outside the bargaining table." He said he would ask Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell to discuss the proposal with both labor and management leaders, and then "communicate with you further." (Weekly Report p. 1487)

## HOUSING BOND EXCHANGE

Rep. Albert Rains (D Ala.), chairman of the House Banking and Currency Housing Subcommittee, Nov. 7 criticized an Administration plan to exchange veterans' mortgages held by the Federal National Mortgage Assn. for Government bonds as ill-advised and "beyond the bounds" of administrative latitude.

A Treasury Department announcement Oct. 20 said the FNMA would accept \$150 million of 2-3/4 percent Treasury bonds in exchange for 4 percent Government-backed mortgages held by the agency. The proposal was called a budget-balancing measure. (Weekly Report p. 1432)

RELATED DEVELOPMENTS -- Nov. 3 -- Sen. John J. Sparkman (D Ala.), chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Housing Subcommittee, said his Subcommittee was studying a program to facilitate the purchase of homes. Sparkman, noting a 13 percent drop in private housing starts during October, indicated the study would include the possibility of smaller down payments and longer term loans to help families with modest incomes.

## CIVIL RIGHTS

The Justice Department Nov. 16 filed suit against the Fayette County (Tenn.) Democratic Committee for a white primary it charged was held in August. The suit was the fourth filed under the authority granted the Department's Civil Rights Division by the Civil Rights Act of 1957. (Weekly Report p. 912)

The Supreme Court Nov. 16 agreed to review a Justice Department suit against the state of Alabama and Macon County registrars for alleged discrimination against Negro voting applicants. The suit was dismissed by a lower court March 6 on the grounds that the registrars had resigned and the 1956 act did not authorize suits against states. The dismissal was sustained in a circuit court of appeals June 16. (Weekly Report p. 912)

Attorney General William P. Rogers Nov. 18 said the Pearl County, Miss. grand jury's inaction on the alleged lynching of Mack Charles Parker in Poplarville April 24 might necessitate "some new criminal statute in the civil rights field."

## 374 NEW LOBBYISTS BRING 14-YEAR TOTAL TO 5,517

The first ten months of 1959 produced an upsurge in the number of registered lobbyists.

From Jan. 1 through Nov. 5, 374 individuals and organizations registered with Congress as lobbyists under the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act. This compared with a total of 337 registrations filed during all of 1958. The 1957 figure was 392.

As of Nov. 5, the overall total of registrations filed under the Lobby Act since its enactment in 1946 stood at 5,517. The Act requires that all persons seeking to influence the passage or defeat of legislation, directly or indirectly, register with the Clerk of the House and the Secretary of the Senate. It does not require that a lobbyist withdraw his registration when his lobbying ceases.

Many of the lobbyists included in this total have registered two or more times, usually each time they are employed by a different organization. The total of 5,517 registrations filed during the 14-year history of the Lobby Act actually represents only 3,940 different lobbyists and pressure groups. Of the 374 registrations filed during 1959, only 228 were from persons and groups who had never registered before.

Of the 3,940 unduplicated registrations, 3,319 were from individuals, 188 from law and public relations firms and 433 were from organizations. The 228 new registrations in 1959 included 178 individuals, 12 law and public relations firms and 38 organizations.

## Legislative Interests

All types of organizations registered in 1959. They ranged from the Antique and Art Dealers' Assn. of New York to the Yakima Indian Assn. of Washington State. The art dealers said they would oppose a bill (S 948) amending the tariff laws by permitting art objects more than 100 years old to be imported duty-free. The Yakima Indians hired a Washington lawyer, Albert A. Grorud, to back a bill to restore the right of an Indian to inherit family possessions after he leaves a tribal reservation. Current law provides that an Indian would be disinherited and stricken from the tribal membership rolls if he left his reservation. Grorud said he would receive \$25 a month.

Lobbying in 1959 was not confined to domestic issues alone. Among groups outside the U.S. employing registered lobbyists were the Assn. of Guatemalan Sugar Mills and the Republic of China. A New York public relations firm, L.S.S. Associates Inc., registered for the Guatemalan group to lobby for legislation giving Guatemalan growers a share in the U.S. sugar market.

The government of Red China was represented briefly by a Washington attorney, Harold R. Robinson. Robinson told CQ that he notified the Clerk of the House shortly after his registration that he was no longer an active lobbyist. He declined to state his legislative goal.

One of the most widely publicized lobby campaigns of 1959 was launched in January by David Burpee, head of the Burpee Seed Co. of Doylestown, Pa. Burpee registered Jan. 14, listing as his legislative interest a resolution designating the marigold as the U.S. national flower.

## Registration Totals

The Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act of 1946 requires the registration of all persons attempting to influence Federal legislation. The year-by-year breakdown of all registrations (including duplications) since the law was enacted:

Year	Registrations	Year	Registrations
1946*	222	1953	296
1947	731	1954	413
1948	447	1955	383
1949	599	1956	347
1950	430	1957	392
1951	342	1958	337
1952	204	1959**	374
		<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5,517</b>

\*Last four months only.

\*\*From Jan. 1 through Nov. 5.

Congress was subjected to pressure from an unexpected source when the Federation of Homemakers registered in July. The housewives said they would try to persuade Congress to appropriate more money for a new Food and Drug Administration building.

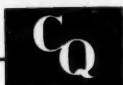
The railroad labor unions stepped up their drive in 1959 for higher pensions and retirement benefits. In all, 25 registrations were filed by nine different unions and brotherhoods. The same nine filed only 14 registrations in 1958. A measure passed by Congress and signed by the President (HR 5610-PL 28) boosted pensions, annuities and survivor benefits by 10 percent.

The life insurance industry was well represented while Congress considered a bill (HR 4245) establishing a permanent formula for taxing life insurance profits. By the time the tax bill became law June 25 (PL 69), 16 registrations had been filed by various groups.

## Ex-Congressmen

There was a big increase in 1959 in the number of former Members of Congress being employed as lobbyists. Only four ex-Congressmen registered in 1958, but in 1959 12 registered, seven for the first time. The seven:

Ex-Rep. Laurie C. Battle (D Ala. 1947-54) for the National Assn. of Manufacturers; ex-Rep. Ken. M. Regan (D Texas 1947-55) for several Texas railroads; ex-Rep. DeWitt S. Hyde (R Md. 1953-59) for the Laundry and Dry Cleaners Assn. of D.C.; ex-Rep. James P. Richards (D S.C. 1933-57) for the Tobacco Institute; ex-Rep. Albert M. Cole (R Kan. 1945-53) for the California Savings and Loan League; ex-Rep. Robert Hale (R Maine 1942-59) for the Assn. for the Advancement of Science and ex-Rep. Patrick J. Hillings (R Calif. 1951-59) for the California Portland Cement Co. (For more on ex-Congressmen lobbyists, see Weekly Report p. 1382)



# Presidential Report

## HERTER ADDRESS ON PRINCIPLES OF EAST-WEST COOPERATION

*Following are excerpts from Secretary of State Christian A. Herter's Nov. 16 address to the National Foreign Trade Council, outlining the U.S. position on the principles that could guide U.S. Soviet relations:*

...The paramount question facing our world today is how the great rivalry between political systems can work itself out in the course of history without exploding into thermonuclear war....

The real meaning of the series of high-level meetings is that a new process of communication may be developing through them. I say "may" because only time can tell whether we shall have learned to talk somewhat less at cross-purposes than in the past, and with better understanding of opposing points of view.

Mr. Khrushchev has said that we need to develop a common language, despite the ideological conflict to which he stanchly adheres. Many will find this hard to believe.... Yet I believe that on certain fundamentals we can find a common language because we have a common interest.

That interest lies simply in the basic will to survive, shared by free men and Communists alike. I think the Soviet leadership is reaching a conclusion similar to our own -- that unless the course of events is changed and changed soon, both sides face unacceptable risks of general nuclear war, which would approximate mutual suicide.

Thus, the one area in which a common language has best chance to grow is that of ground rules for the great competition which dominates our time -- some "rules of the game" -- to keep it within bounds set by the conditions of co-survival.

Such rules must be devised to temper acute political problems which cannot now be fully solved, and to bring under control the spiraling arms race which those problems goad onward. That is the main task for the negotiations that lie in the months and perhaps years ahead.

There are other areas in which a common language can take root, thereby mitigating to some extent the underlying conflict. Shared interests in the arts and sciences, in the essentials of human welfare and everyday life, are now being fostered through many kinds of exchange which we are prepared to expand as fully as the Soviets will reciprocate. In these fields, we are even finding ways of turning competition into cooperation, through such common ventures as the International Geophysical Year. We should never miss a bona fide opportunity to expand the area of cooperation.

Competition will continue to be rugged, however, despite any ground rules or exchanges. Mr. Khrushchev makes no bones about his ultimate aims, and we can certainly expect many sorts of lures and pressures in all parts of the free world, backed with mounting industrial power designed to confuse, subvert and take over. The need to keep a firm grasp on both sets of facts -- the necessity for common ground rules and the aggressive competition -- will be a severe test of our political maturity as a people....

Thus, it will take courage of a high order and strong nerves over a long time to construct a new relationship between the antagonistic systems. But that must be done if civilization is to survive. It is nothing less than this immense and long-term project on which we are now engaged.... How can we, while combining in restraint of war, meet the most ruthless competition the world has seen?

It will take our most strenuous, devoted and persistent efforts. Nothing could be more fatal than to confuse relaxation of tensions with relaxation of ourselves, and one of the most serious dangers ahead is that people will be tempted to do exactly that.

Intelligent visitors to the Soviet Union have noted the zeal there for "catching up" with the United States. We will not fare well in competition with the Soviets unless we can match their enthusiasm for achievement.

The common effort will require continued and possibly increasing claims on our treasure, our intelligence and our patience. Most importantly, it will require much wider participation and support by the great majority of all Americans. It is not enough to pay our taxes and leave the rest for "these people in Washington." The cause of peace and freedom is too important to be left to the few.

We have, of late, been too much absorbed, I feel, in the mere enjoyment of a prosperous life behind our defensive curtain of nuclear power. We must realize instead that the fateful competition with communism has placed a first claim on the energy and interests of us all. That means subordinating our private interests to the paramount public interest. It also means using our economy less for the things which do not really matter, and more for the things which do -- for the uses which would train and inform our minds, promote the health of our society and keep our country free.

Our greatest advantage in the world struggle is that we are not alone. Many countries are with us wholeheartedly and confidently. Many others are with us in spirit, even though they can not say so.

One of the most heartening sights in recent years has been the revival of the economic strength of our free-world partners in Western Europe and Japan. They are now able to offer their peoples the prospect of continuing economic growth and of sustained high levels of economic activity. In so doing, they demonstrate the continuing vitality of free societies.

Our current balance of payments problem is, in part, a result of this growing free world recovery. We want to meet the problem through measures which promote rather than restrict world trade. I am so confident that we can do so as other industrialized free countries assume the full role which their recovery permits.

These countries no longer need to lean on us for the preponderant support of most common ventures. Rather, they are able, and I believe willing, to participate increasingly in the common cause of freeing and expanding trade, and helping the newly developing countries to find their way to health, growth and stability.

Last year, as a result of its economic transactions with other countries, the United States had a deficit in its balance of payments, as measured by the transfer to other countries of gold and liquid dollar assets, of about \$3,400,000,000. This year we may expect a deficit of some \$4,000,000,000....

As many of you know, our Development Loan Fund recently announced its intention in the future to place primary emphasis in its lending to the less-developed countries on the financing of goods and services which they require from the United States. This decision was taken in the knowledge that other industrialized countries that supply capital goods to the newly developing countries are now in a position to provide the necessary financing for these exports. This new policy of the Development Loan Fund will, of course, be applied carefully and with every consideration for the needs of the developing countries.... The circumstances under which ICA operates generally differ from those applying to the DLF. Therefore, for the present we do not contemplate basic changes in the ICA procurement policies.

We recognize, however, the desirability of transferring from the ICA to the DLF, to the greatest extent possible, assistance which ICA grants in the form of help to specific development projects. We intend to move in this direction. Projects so transferred would then be financed under the new procedures of the DLF.

Another important reason for maintaining the present ICA procurement policy is the fact that it operates to promote private enterprise in the recipient countries, and has worked successfully to this end. Private business men buy and resell the commodities concerned on a competitive basis. This would not be possible if they were required to buy at higher than world prices.

A change to U.S. procurement by the ICA would in turn force a change from private to government operation in the distribution of our assistance and so would run directly counter to our endeavor to promote the establishment of free private enterprise in the newly developing countries....

Chairman Khrushchev sees the future as competition between rival social systems by means other than war. We Americans welcome competition, and we are ready to join him in finding ways of making it securely peaceful....



**North-South Splits** Northern and Southern Democrats took flatly opposing stands on 27 percent of the House and Senate roll-call votes in 1959, according to a Congressional Quarterly voting survey. The top issue in dispute between the party's two wings was foreign aid, on which the Democrats divided on 17 roll calls. Labor, agriculture, housing and civil rights also produced considerable dissension. Among Southern Senators, Strom Thurmond (S.C.) voted most often for the "Southern" point of view, Ralph Yarborough (Texas) least often. (Page 1491)

## College-Aid Plans

Plans for revision of Federal tax law to boost corporate and private contributions to colleges were among the proposals discussed as the House Ways and Means Committee opened hearings on income tax reform. One bill would let individuals subtract 91 percent of their donations to colleges from their tax bills. Another would ease the burden of education costs on parents by giving them big deductions for sending their children to college. (Page 1497)

## Lobbying

The House grew by two seats and the Senate by four seats in 1959, but the "third house of Congress" -- the lobbyists -- increased by at least 228 members during the first session of the 86th Congress. That was the number of new lobbyists listed among the 374 lobby registrations filed during the first 10 months of the year. A Congressional Quarterly tally shows that since 1946, 3,490 different persons and groups have registered as lobbyists. (Page 1502)

## Latin America Policy

A new study produced for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said U.S. policy in Latin America was too deeply involved in developing hemispheric defense against the Soviet bloc and was ignoring the social revolution that was transforming the entire area. The study recommended that the U.S. abandon the use of military aid "as a means to win political support of the Latin American military." (Page 1500)

### **Problems of the Aged**

A Nov. 16 report by the Federal Council on the Aging said major problems facing elderly persons in the U.S. were "definite barriers" to employment, inadequate housing and poor educational and self-care facilities. The report said new studies were needed on automation, pension costs and training programs. (Page 1501)

### **Langer Successor Named**

Republican Norman Brundsdale Nov. 19 was appointed to fill the Senate vacancy created by the death Nov. 8 of Sen. William Langer of North Dakota. Brundsdale, who was Governor of North Dakota from 1951-57, will serve until a new Senator is sworn in following a special election June 28. Brundsdale's appointment brought the composition of the Senate once again to 65 Democrats, 35 Republicans and no vacancies. (Page 1499)

## Nixon and Rockefeller

The prospective rivals for the 1960 Republican Presidential nomination, Vice President Richard M. Nixon and New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller (R), moved their campaigns into higher gear last week. Rockefeller completed a swing through the West and asserted that no one had the nomination "sewed up." Nixon, campaigning in Wisconsin and Indiana, made no claim he had the prize won, but the steady unveiling of his widespread support continued, amid hints that close personal friends of President Eisenhower would soon declare themselves in the Nixon corner. (Page 1498)

## Miscellany

CIA Director Allen W. Dulles told a Congressional subcommittee the Soviet Union was still far behind the United States in industrial capacity, but could gain rapidly in the next 10 years...The Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal by the Teamsters Union against a lower court order upholding the powers of the board of monitors to proceed with cleanup attempts...The Justice Department instituted a new suit under the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1957...Secretary of State Christian A. Herter outlined the U.S. position on East-West cooperation in the projected summit talks... (Page 1500-03)